2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

592 (593) (178) increasingly loath to share a relatively high income with his extended family. Thus large joint families are no longer as common as they were half a century ago: an average Badaga household today contains only 5.5 members, and the range in size is from one to perhaps twenty.

LINEAGE

613 Several joint families able to agree on precisely how they are descended from a common male ancestor consider themselves a *minimal* or a *minor lineage* (in Baḍagu, *guppu).* This is an exogamous and patrilineal group living in a single village and is the most important lineage for members, often the only one they know by name. It tends to split into two lineages every four or five (426) generations. The *guppu* is a unit within which interest-free loans are obtained and which even today has a buffalo herd in common. It no longer holds land in common, though at its inception the joint family of the founder did, and each descendant is still entitled to a proportion of his land. This lineage tends to hold family ceremonies together. If further participants are wanted at such ceremonies the remainder of the *major lineage* (in Baḍagu, *kuṭṭi)* can be invited. This consists of at least two minor lineages the leaders of which can trace their ancestry back to a common founder. Very often the major lineages in one or several neighbouring villages summate to a *maximal lineage* (in Baḍagu, *kuḍumbu)* and responsible members can trace their actual descent from its founder, too. All levels of lineage can be referred to by a founder's name, though in many villages no more than one level is now recognized. Lineages of all levels may be invited to attend family ceremonies.

613 621

From the example in Diagram 6 it can be seen that a maximal lineage has a depth of about seven generations. As at O:ranayi the maximal lineage is very often coterminous with the village, which explains the exogamy of most villages. There are, however, some exceptional villages, notably those of the Wodeas and Toreas, and of the Gaudas of So:lu:ru commune and Ha:sanu:ru, which contain several distinct lineages from *different* clans within each village; so that while exogamy still marks the lineage it is not characteristic of the villages.

613 There is a strong sense of lineage solidarity, strongest at the minor level but still significant at the maximal. In case of a dispute

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

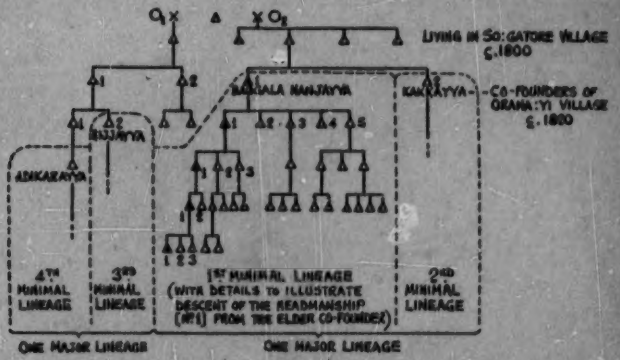

Diagram 6. O:ranayi village: A maximal lineage.

613 with someone outside the villager's own lineage, be it minimal, minor, major or maximal, his fellow members are usually willing to support him even though this means agreeing to false evidence. Such behaviour helps keep land and other valuables within the lineage and can also uphold the good name of a lineage and the village it inhabits. Solidarity is also expressed when a man wants 613 to sell some land. He must offer it first to other members of his 423 minimal or minor lineage, then to his major lineage, then to his maximal, then to any other inhabitants of his village, then to people in neighbouring villages. Only in the unusual case when nobody in this sequence will buy may he offer the land to Badagas from elsewhere. The land surrounding each village is typically owned by families of that village only.

CLAN

614 Several maximal lineages make up the *clan* (in American terminology, the *sib*). Like the lineage the clan is exogamous; but it is rarely confined to a single village. A lineage embraces all the [121] patrilateral descendants of a known common ancestor (Schusky, 1965, 77) whereas a clan, made up of two or more lineages, is a

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

themselves are the women's work-groups, small cliques of village wives who work together in the fields and elsewhere, exchanging gossip and favours in the process. These female networks link up with the male ones through the wives of influential men (cf. Plate 10).

The sequence of contacts that have to be made if someone in the village is to influence or be influenced by people in the above list constitutes an intra-village network.

Inter-Village Networks

Two kinds of network fall under this heading, one linking agnates, the second affines. The first are ritual and juridical networks, linking up with distantly related men in other villages of the commune. This commune was first settled, it is claimed, by a man who founded the maximal lineage to which nearly all of the inhabitants belong. Hulla:ḍa people mostly belong to one of the three major lineages, this one established by Koṅga Hetappa, one of the commune founder's three sons. Within Hulla:ḍa and a nearby village (Ke:ti) the lineage is further divided into four minimal lineages, each descended from one of Koṅga Etappa's four sons. The more important festivals are celebrated in common by all sixteen villages in the commune, using ritual personnel from any of these villages. Serious problems are discussed by all the village headmen at the commune council. Hulla:ḍa villagers can establish contact with the wealthiest and most influential men in the commune by activating these two networks, either through a village headman or through a friend who has helped in the rituals.

Secondly, the marriage and visiting networks link Hulla:ḍa with villages beyond this commune. Marriages account for a network of social contacts with nearly two dozen other villages, and these are frequently activated by informal visits and by attendance at the festivals, weddings and funerals of affines. Small loans may be sought along these networks (Hockings, in press).

Inter-Tribal Networks

The Badagas of Hulla:ḍa were linked for certain economic and ritual purposes with particular Kotas, Todas, Kurumbas and Chettis. For the most part these associations have fallen into

3: Hockings, E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AN50 Badaga AN50

salt being one of the few items that the hill people used to carry up from market towns on the plains during their annual trading expeditions.[5] We may perhaps infer that the salt-giving was already a ceremony from the tradition that the men in these parties who were carrying salt specifically to give to their buffaloes were supposed to keep themselves in a ritually pure state, and were not allowed to carry any other trade items at the same time. One man would therefore carry salt for a number of men in the trading party, and they in turn would carry his purchases. Salt intended for domestic use was never treated with such reverence. Once a market had been established in the new British hill town of Ootacamund, *ca.* 1825, these old trading expeditions fell into abeyance because the Badagas could then purchase salt without having to leave the hills.[6]

The annual ceremony of giving "new-grass salt," called *'ka:ruppu*, is performed separately by each hamlet in March of every year, on the Monday that falls within the eight days following the new moon. At about the time of the new moon itself one man is selected from every household in each hamlet to represent that family; generally the head of the family assumes the role, unless the purificatory preparations are too burdensome for him.

Early in the morning of the ceremony, after the house has been purified, each of these men goes out to his cattle shed and brings in the salt he has purchased. This coarse salt is then powdered in a mortar inside the house with a special iron bar supplied by the Kota craftsmen.

At the appropriate time the hamlet headman comes along each street calling out, "Are you ready?" Each celebrant then picks up his powdered salt in its basket[7] and stands near the doorway. At a signal from the headman, the man who represents the Great House (i.e., that of the hamlet's founding family) is the first to leave his doorway. He goes and stands on the village green, and all of the other men selected immediately come out and line up behind him. They then start off for the stream where the salt-feeding will take place. The man from the Great House stays in the lead. At some distance behind this party of celebrants other members of their families follow, driving the cattle or just coming along to watch; but no women can be present.

This group goes to the bank of a stream near the hamlet, carrying their baskets of salt, iron rods, pots, and hoes. Near the stream the man from the Great House digs a shallow, round hole with his hoe, two to three feet wide and a foot deep. The other men then follow suit, each using his own hoe to dig a hole for his own cattle. During the present century, however, the Badaga cattle herds have become much smaller than before, and so only one man from each lineage is usually selected to dig a pit for all the cattle belonging to that lineage. (Generally a Badaga hamlet is made up of three or four lineages, one at least of which is recognized as having descended from the hamlet founder.) After each of these pits has been dug, the loose dirt in it is brushed out with a branch of the *'hubbe* plant.[8]

The sun is now in the east, for it is still morning. When the pits have been dug, the man from the Great House takes a handful of salt from his

554 any wealthy man should be believed before some ordinary man, a Badaga should
695 be believed before a non-Badaga (other factors being relatively equal), a small
(562) boy should be believed before an adult, but an old man should be believed before
(565) a younger one. Until about 1940 utterances from ghosts or gods (spoken through
(609) possessed mediums) were treated as reliable evidence, more reliable indeed than
(561) anything men might say.

Badagas are familiar with the phenomenon of in-group solidarity, as it
593 regularly finds graphic illustration in the hearing of village disputes. A man is so dependent upon the support of his family in a dispute, as well as in his daily ritual observances, that it is normally assumed -- unless he is disputing with his
(425) own brother -- that he will not lie to his family about anything. So if Kadan, for example, is engaged in a dispute with Rangan over the shifting of a field boundary, Kadan can expect his family's support in the matter even though they all know that his evidence is a complete fabrication; indeed the whole family stands to gain if
• 613 Kadan wins the case, provided the family estate remains undivided until then. If Rangan is from another lineage than Kadan (and the dispute is sufficiently important, we might add), each man may win the active support of his entire lineage.
571 Similarly in a dispute between two men of different hamlets, each man's hamlet
621 will typically support him in the dispute even though his claim is known to be false. At the level of inter-village disputes the support from an entire hamlet may be forthcoming only because everybody feels the reputation of his own hamlet is at
518 stake: few would look for material gains in the situation. The fixing of village
(657) boundaries by the Revenue Board during the 1880's obviated the possibility of an inter-village dispute over field boundaries; but important conflicts can still arise over marriage and divorce, inheritance, debt and interest, theft, and a variety of

631 used prior to the hearing of a dispute to gain an adjudicating headman's favor.
661
662 Within prescribed limits, antisocial behavior is an individual's misfortune, rather than a reflection on the character of his lineage or hamlet. In the case of
558 misbehavior by a member of the gentry, however, the prestige of his whole family
[565] is involved. Apart from the small minority -- perhaps five percent -- who belong to the gentry, as we have seen, wrong-doers are held responsible for their own acts and punishable for them. A family which contains a miscreant or a girl of loose morals will generally lose little prestige; for, as a proverb understandingly puts the matter, "In good soil the crop will grow better, and so will the weeds." For this reason the family of a man hanged for murder, for example, would still give him a respectful funeral and invite many guests (who would show no hesitation in coming). The same holds true in the case of a man who died as a Hindu after
558 having earlier been a Christian convert. If, on the other hand, any lineage pro-
●613 duces more than two or three miscreants or notably loose women within a space of a few years, then the whole lineage does lose prestige and influence. The isolated case can be overlooked, but repeated delinquency within one lineage becomes difficult to pardon.

To summarize the chapter thus far: we have seen that an upper class of
565 families exists, consisting of certain patrilineal descendants of the Badagas who founded each settlement. These families provided the headmen and sometimes other functionaries; they still try to maintain an image of higher ethical standards and greater prosperity and power; but at the same time the entire family can be held responsible for the misdeeds of any member, whereas among other Badagas this is not usually so.

121 (127) From these 19th Century descriptions several accounts might be culled of the process by which factional behavior starts. A much more recent illustration of faction-formation is preferable, however, because of the subjectivity in the early missionary writings. The case I have chosen is my summary of the informant's account (and, as in my other quotations from field-notes, the name used is fictitious).

578 621 "Early in 1963, when one hamlet was planning to stage a funeral, the headman asked every household to donate three meals for the visitors expected. One man, Raman, was requested to prepare four meals, either through mistake or for some unknown reason; and he did as asked, but only to find that nobody came to his house to eat them. Why this should be is not clear: apparently Raman was not a very pleasant person to get along with. He complained that the cost of the meals should be refunded to him from the general village funds, but the headman decided to do nothing about it. From this situation two factions arose which divided the entire hamlet into two separate communities.

(602) (613) "At first only three households closely related to him supported Raman; but then, after another funeral had occurred in the hamlet, the other people there who were related to those three households, because they were all in the same lineage, found themselves drawn into Raman's faction. At this point the hamlet council, led by the headman, forbad any women to help members of Raman's faction by such duties as working in their fields. Because of this proscription there were a number of women who found themselves forced into joining Raman's faction: they perhaps had no strong feelings about the actual dispute, but they were too poor to forego the Rs. 1 1/2 they were earning as daily laborers in the fields of those people.

"Thus within a few weeks from the start of the grievance typical factional

who fled from that situation and settled on the hills as Badagas (i.e., "northerners") came mainly from the agricultural Okkaliga caste in the Mysore Plain. What their social organization may have been there is obscure and irrelevant. It seems that the small groups of refugees, torn from their caste affiliations, were so fragmented that the basic social unit among them as settlers was the joint family, not the *jati* or caste. It is still the ideal residential unit.

Today we find no castes in Badaga society. These people live in a tribal milieu, surrounded by the indigenous Toda, Kota, Kurumba, and Iruļa tribes, and they have become fairly tribe-like themselves. The community is divided into ten phratries which are mainly endogamous. Two of these are vegetarian; all are primarily agricultural. Each phratry is made up of a number of exogamous clans, anything from two to sixteen of them, and these clans are in turn segmented into quite a few exogamous lineages. As with the famed Nigerian case of the Tallensi, there are actually lineages within lineages, so that we may need to speak about maximal (*kuḍumbu*), major (*kutti*), minor (*kutti*), and minimal (*guppu*) lineages, even though not every clan currently has all four levels of lineage. Segments of the minimal lineages are in fact extended families, counting back for about five generations, and with most of their members still alive.

These larger social units have a complicated history and organization (detailed in Hockings 1980), and they will not be considered further in this present study. It is nonetheless relevant to mention how they fit into the residence pattern. The Badagas live in about 370 exclusively Badaga villages which are normally exogamous. Marriage is virilocal. Each village is thus the home of one or more patrilineages all belonging to one clan (and hence, one phratry). But with few exceptions a clan is not confined to a single village.

One particular village, Tu:ne:ri, was the first place to be settled, in the late 16th century, as a result of which its headman became the paramount chief. This position, like all Badaga headmanships, has descended patrilineally within the family. Every other village has its own headman, descended from the founder, and clusters of neighbouring villages form a commune around one particular village whose headman is also acknowledged to be the commune headman. Furthermore, the whole of the plateau area has been divided into four quarters, and one man is recognized as the regional headman in each quarter. At every one of the four levels of headmanship there is also a council, made up of inferior headmen (except in the case of the village council, which consists of lineage elders who work with the traditional village headman).

The society is relatively homogeneous in the sense that, although the ten phratries are ranked into a widely accepted hierarchy, all families were traditionally subsistence farmers of millet and all lived by essentially the same kinship rules. We will therefore be able to explore the meaning of these rules without constant reference to exceptions and alternatives found only in certain sectors of the society.

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

become householders—in their natal villages, that is. Women are never expected to make such decisions. Hence patrilocality is a principle of survival, a fact which is reinforced by the phenomenon of repeated divorces that might take one woman in her lifetime as a bride to two or three different villages, in each of which she would be something of a novice with regard to the local ecological conditions.

For a male, membership of his father's lineage—whether maximal, major, minor, or minimal—is inalienable. There may nowadays be little or no assertion of the solidarity of an individual with his lineage during his entire lifetime, but yet the tie remains. Some lineages do however still maintain in common a herd of buffaloes.

For females the descent situation is rather less clear. A woman at marriage joins the family and hence the lineage of her husband. This connection is not inalienable, on the other hand, for divorce may easily rupture it. The term for affines *(nantan-natta)* is applied by a man's family to all of his wife's natal family and lineage; it is similarly applied to all the agnatic relatives of any potential wife. This is a commonplace in Dravidian kinship systems. Among Badaga women we also find that a wife calls her own parents and brothers *nantan*, and in anticipation of a certain married future may even use this term in reference to them while she is still a small, unmarried girl, just as her potential husbands would.

3. The Affines

The community based on patrilocal residence is a moral entity in which deference is enforced by authority. Relationships with one's agnates are always extensive and carefully maintained, and this contrasts with the narrowness of affinal relationships. The two categories are further differentiated in behaviour by the fact that a male can be fined by the village headman if he does not show the proper respect due to an agnate, and primarily to a member of his own village; but there is no fine for lack of respect to an affine.

Badagas have a saying, "There is no relationship among affines." This simply means that Ego does not always recognize generation levels among his affines. What *is* important, here as elsewhere in the kinship realm, is the age differential. Take, for example, the unexpected situation (Diagram 1) of

Diagram 1

561 602 two men, Ego and 'N', who find that they are "sons-in-law" to each other, because Ego is FZH to 'N' but is also a classificatory BS to the wife of 'N'. Thus, if the permitted marriage that Diagram 1 illustrates takes place, the two men do not know how to treat each other according to the rules that normally guide behaviour towards affines. The problem is resolved by determining which man is the older one and is thus entitled to the deference of the other.

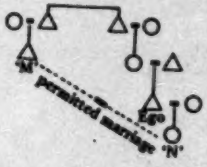

Diagram 2

The same point about the non-recognition of affinal generation levels is brought out in a second example. In Diagram 2 Ego should not show respect to 'M', although the latter is of a superior generation level, because it is permissible for 'M' to marry 'N'. Ego therefore calls 'M', his potential son-in-law, by name instead of by a kin term, as he would otherwise do in addressing an older person. It is important to note that in a society where [587] [795] remarriage is common and polygyny does occur, any married couple can quite probably trace the kin relationship linking them through two or even three different routes. In such a situation, aggravated as it is by the commonness of "cross-generational" marriages, affinal generation levels really become unmanageable concepts, since Ego's spouse could conceivably be assigned to several different generation levels, from his point of view, depending on which way her relationship to him was traced through their kinship field.

593 586 [613] Rights over the wife as genetrix rest fully with her husband and his lineage. Upon divorcing her he assumes control and responsibility for all of the children she has produced for him, boys and girls, and she is sent back to her father's house (cf. Table 5).

843 [611] [842] The fundamental principle of patriliny finds biological justification in the Badaga theory of conception. In their traditional view, a foetus develops solely from the semen of the father. The only biological role of the mother is a nurturing one, seen as rather analogous to manuring a field. Blood comes to the foetus from the mother's stomach, where it has been made from digested food; and after the delivery her milk also comes from digested food in the stomach. While the mother's role is thus a crucial one in that she feeds the foetus and baby, it is not considered to develop from her flesh at all.

B: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AM50 Badaga AM50

Badagas will state that the preferred marriage partner is a FZD. However, one can also marry a MBD or a WZ. They will also explain that the following cannot be married: Z, FZ, FW, FBD, BD, SD, half-Z, WBW, WMZ, WM, WZD, MZD, FBW, BW, SW, ZD, DD, WBD, MZ, and MBW (see Table 2). Males do not generally marry women older than themselves although they can marry a woman in an ascending generational position so long as she is in a "potential wife" category. S82

Given that Badagas prefer marriage with the cross-cousins, and given further that property is to be divided equally between all sons of a man, ZD-marriage—found elsewhere in South India—appears to be an impossible preference for them (with the exception of the anomalous case illustrated in Diagram 12). It cannot be tolerated because it could lead to ambiguities concerning descent and inheritance. Picture the situation (Diagram 8) where

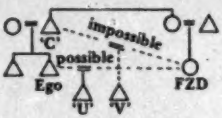

Diagram 8

Ego marries his FZD, which is indeed the prime Badaga preference: if Ego's father 'C' has two sons, then Ego inherits 1/2 of his father's property. If Ego marries his FZD and also has only one son, 'U', the latter inherits all of Ego's property. But if Ego's father were to have sexual access to his ZD when she was his own son's wife living in his house, and if further Ego died before his father and then the woman gave birth to a son 'V' shortly afterwards, some serious questions would arise about inheritance. For if 'V' were considered the son of 'C', then Ego and 'V' would each inherit 1/3 of 'C's' property, and 'U' would inherit all of Ego's property. But if 'V' were considered as the son of Ego, Ego would inherit 1/2 of his father's property, and 'U' and 'V' would each inherit 1/2 of Ego's. To avoid quarrels over the inheritance, and further quarrels over sexual access to a woman living in the joint family, a man cannot marry or have relations with his SW, even when she is his own ZD, and even though the son may have pre-deceased his father.

There are four basic groups into which a male cannot marry. They are:

1) Females of Ego's own patrilineage. This would include women who are born into his patrilineage: Z, FZ, FBD, MBW, BD, SD, half-Z (when the common parent was the father), WBW, WMZ, WM, WZD. All females marrying into Ego's lineage would also be included here (including M, MZ, FBW, and FW), for a woman becomes part of her husband's lineage when she marries. When brother/sister exchange does in fact occur, a WBW would be equivalent to Ego's own Z; a WMZ or a WM or a MBW would equal FZ; and WZD would be Ego's own daughter if he had married his WZ. S82 613

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

582 2) Parallel cousins. MZD could be Ego's half-Z if his father had married the MZ. FBD is included here but has also been mentioned under the previous heading.

3) Daughters of offspring and of siblings. A SD, ZD, DD, and WBD (who would be a ZD when brother/sister exchange occurred) are in this category.

(613) 4) Wives of other lineage males. FW and FBW, FFBW and FM are encompassed in this category. As already stated, these women become part of Ego's lineage once they marry into it.

The basic people Ego can marry (FZD, MBD, and WZ) are cross-cousins, ideally with brother/sister exchange linking two families.

615 Badagas see all of their phratry as either affine or agnate. As a woman is assimilated into her husband's lineage when she marries, she therefore becomes an agnate to the husband rather than remaining an affine. An affine could basically be described then as a potential wife or potential wife-giver.

8. Marriage Possibilities: Some Interesting Anomalies

121 Owing to the fact that the ideal marriage partner—actual FZD or MBD—is not always available, certain unusual marriage possibilities have been noted among the Badagas. In the following section I will examine them, using hypothetical examples presented by my informants.

582 The first thing to understand in Diagram 9 is that although 'Y' is of an earlier generation than Ego (seemingly his great-grandmother), she should be of younger age than Ego. Ego's mother was not in 'X's' lineage after her marriage, thus her father 'X' and *his* father would be of a wife-giving lineage and the marriage would then be unusual but still permissible.

Diagram 9

I have combined two other cases (Diagrams 10 and 11) because basically they are the same: a man is marrying his father's second wife's sister. Although this would put the bride in a classificatory "M" role, the marriage would be permissible for the following reasons (I will use Diagram 10 to illustrate): Ego's father's second wife was not in Ego's lineage before her marriage, thus her parents would not be in Ego's lineage. It is assumed that Ego's father's second wife's father's second wife ("MM") was not a member of Ego's lineage before marriage but was a member of a third lineage. Thus, as long as the daughter of this woman in no way fits into a category of

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

in its marriage network down to manageable proportions. There is definitely an ideal and a strong tendency towards reciprocity between two Badaga villages in the exchange of women. Thus 67% of all wives found in Hulla:ḍa in 1963 came from the first four villages named in Table 3. 78% of the daughters married away from Hulla:ḍa who still maintained social ties there were also living in those same four villages. This reciprocity is felt to be the responsibility of each lineage, and it is to some extent reflected in the data of Table 4 concerning the marriage patterns of each Hulla:ḍa lineage. (For simplicity, only the villages with which Hulla:ḍa was linked by more than 20 marriages in 1963 have been included.) This table shows that at that time Naḍu Mane lineage had a perfect record of reciprocity with those villages. O:ssa Mane and the "Outsiders" (relatively recent settlers from elsewhere) manifest at least a tolerable degree of reciprocity. In fact, complete reciprocity is not often attainable because nubile women may not be available in a particular village when needed for a marriage, or required in Hulla:ḍa when available elsewhere. When a lineage has sent a disproportionately greater number of women in marriage to another village than it has received brides from that place, a sense of uneasiness with the situation is usually felt.

TABLE 4

Reciprocity in Marriage, by Lineages

Hulla:ḍa Lineages	Women from	Known women to	Women from	Known women to	Women from	Known women to
	Tumanaṭṭi		Mainele		Kundasappe	
Doḍḍa Mane	3	1	3	0	2	1
Me:l Ke:ri	9	1	5	0	2	3
Naḍu Mane	3	3	4	4	3	3
O:ssa Mane	6	4	7	5	2	3
"Outsiders"	8	4	2	3	2	3

Cross-cousin marriage does sometimes take the form of sister exchange, an ideally reciprocal arrangement. If a young man does not marry his ZHZ (who might be either a MBD or FZD to him), he commonly marries a related neighbour of his ZH. This alliance offers an easy resolution to the practical problem of finding a go-between and arranging the alliance: the youth has the excuse of visiting his married sisters while getting a chance to contact and evaluate prospective brides in their village, and the fathers of these girls can feel more secure about arranging a marriage with a family already linked to their village and perhaps the joint family through previous marriages.